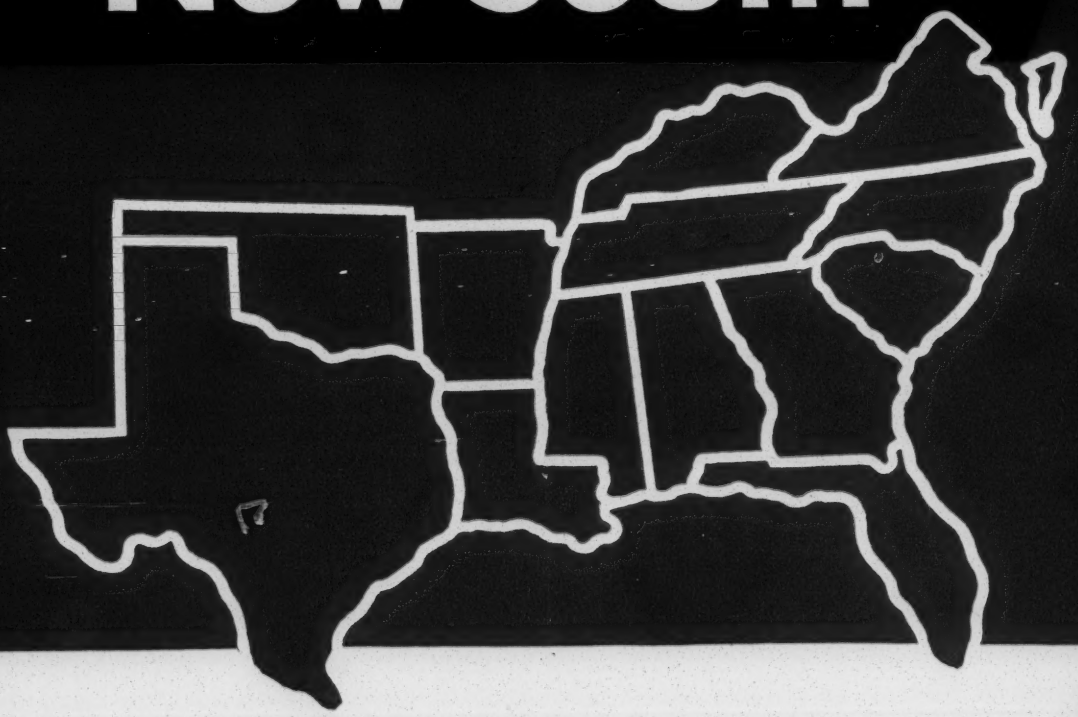
New South



- **The South and Civil Disobedience**
  Marion A. Wright
- **Band Together for Genuine Unity**
  Colbert S. Cartwright
- **Highlights from Recent Literature**
- **The Southerner As American**

JANUARY / 1961

New South

Published by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

• • • • • • • • •

January, 1961

Volume 16 **Number 1**

• • • • • • • • •

Contents

The South and Civil Disobedience by Marion A. Wright 3

Band Together for Genuine Unity by Colbert S. Cartwright 6

Highlights from Recent Literature . 11

The Southerner as American Review by Montez Albright . . . 13

. . . Unquote 15

Officers

James McBride Dabbs . . . . . President

Marion A. Wright . . . . . Vice-President

A. W. Dent . . . . . Vice-President

Miss Josephine Wilkins . . . Vice-President

Rufus E. Clement . . . . . Vice-President

Joseph Haas . . . . . Counsel

Harold C. Fleming . . . . Executive Director

Information Staff

John Constable . . . Director of Information

Subscription rate . . . . . $2.00 a year

New South is published monthly except August by Southern Regional Council, Inc., Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia. Single copies may be purchased at twenty cents each; quantity rates on request.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt.

New South

Notes

Sit-in demonstrations by students continue although the initial progress of desegregation which was accomplished in the border states and upper South has waned. Despite the fact that sit-ins are meeting stiffer resistance in the deep South, it is unlikely they will be abandoned completely as a means for attaining equality for the Negro.

The lead article in this issue concerns itself with the South and civil disobedience—in the main—with the sit-ins. Written by Marion A. Wright, vice president of the Southern Regional Council, the article tells why civil disobedience is an honored recourse to righting old wrongs.

Little Rock, Arkansas, on the surface, has solved its problem of desegregation. The solution, however, apparently is *only* a surface one. Here, Colbert S. Cartwright, a Little Rock minister long active in trying to bring about better race relations in the city, relates how a small group of citizens are endeavoring to lead Little Rock leaders into putting the city and its people on a really sound basis of race relations. Mr. Cartwright tells of the continued resistance by Little Rock leaders to a truly non-discriminatory school system. He suggests ways to change this.

"Highlights from Recent Literature," a frequent feature of *New South*, summarizes three new articles on the South, race relations, and related items.

Mrs. Montez Albright, research staff member of the Southern Regional Council, reviews the new book, THE SOUTHERNER AS AMERICAN, to round out this issue of NEW SOUTH.

The South and Civil Disobedience*

By Marion A. Wright

Vice-President, Southern Regional Council

Emerson wrote: "Your manners are always under examination and by committees little suspected . . . but are awarding or denying you very high prizes when you least think of it."

Our manners, then, are always on display. We are forever being judged by them. How do we pass the manner's test?

Since February 1, 1960—of course long before, for that matter—the manners of Southern whites have been an object of world interest. On that date a few Negro college boys entered a lunch room in Greensboro, North Carolina, and ordered a cup of coffee.

Good manners, on which we pride ourselves, should have prompted us to say, "sit down, draw up a chair, have a cup of coffee"—things we have been taught to say since childhood. But we didn't speak those warm and simple phrases. Because of our failure, we have undergone some months of turmoil and unrest. We have produced a sense of shock throughout the world.

There began on a regional scale a campaign of civil disobedience. The idea was not new of course. The principle of non-violent resistance to tyranny was old when the pyramids were raised.

Nebuchadnezzar made his great image of gold and set it up on the plains of Babylon. He issued his decree, directing that "at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up."

But Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to his face told Nebuchadnezzar "Be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image thou hast set up."

And so they walked unscathed through the fiery furnace.

So on the plains of Babylon there was born an idea. Some centuries later, in the city of Jerusalem, it was expressed: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." And so, by way of Walden Pond in the words of Thoreau, by way of India in the salt marshes of Gandhi, by way of Montgomery, Alabama, in the person and example of Martin Luther King, the idea on February 1, 1960, entered a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The doctrine of non-violent civil disobedience is an honored one in this country. It, of course, does not mean that a man has a right to disobey any law he doesn't like. But he has the right peaceably to protest against laws which offend his religion or conscience, or which place upon him burdens from which his fellow citizens are exempt.

The consciences of Quakers do not permit them to engage in war. They are, therefore, excused from military service. Consciences of Jehovah's Witnesses do not permit them to salute the flag—which they liken to a graven image. Non-violently, they refused to do so and their action was upheld by the courts.

**Presented at Fellowship of the Concerned.*

Civil Disobedience

(Continued)

The right of Quakers to refuse to take oaths in court, or elsewhere, is respected. School children of certain faiths are not required to attend religious chapel services. And so on.

These activities conflict with conscience. The proper way to raise the legal issue is to refuse non-violently to conform.

In the same way one raises the legal issue when he is denied rights and privileges enjoyed by others. To refuse to submit is the direct and practical means of testing the law or custom by which one is penalized. So long as he submits there can be no test.

Constitutional Law

I think it is evident to all students of constitutional law that, once the legal issue is squarely presented, the right of Negro persons to eat at public eating places will be upheld.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution prohibits any state action discriminating against a person on account of race. When a state issues a charter, or a city a license, to engage in the restaurant business there is state action which makes the operation legal and permissible. If the operation is featured by racial discrimination there is conflict with the Constitution.

Under modern conditions, public eating places are an essential feature of normal living. To deprive a person of a right to eat is to subject him to unnecessary inconvenience and hardship. A place of business, operating under state sanction, is forbidden by the Constitution from racial imposition of such inconvenience and hardship.

With every privilege there is a corresponding duty. When one secures the privilege of operating a public necessity, he accepts the privilege with express or implied limitations. Among these is the qualification that the business shall not be so operated as to needlessly inflict damage upon members of the public. To discriminate racially against possible customers is to inflict upon them the physical hardship and the mental anguish inseparable from denial of service.

A business avails itself of facilities and instrumentalities provided by the public. It could not exist without them. The road, the sidewalk in front of his store, are provided by public funds. His police and fire protection, and water and electricity, are publicly supplied. There is inspection of sanitation of premises, and health of personnel. Taxes pay for all of these services. A part of the Negro's tax dollar is included. Is it constitutional for the Negro to be required to pay for services in aid of a business serving only white people?

It was against injustices such as these that the sit-ins were directed. They are in the best tradition of this country from the Boston Tea Party to the Greensboro Coffee Party—from Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to Martin Luther King.

Thomas Jefferson announced the principle that there are certain rights with which everyone is born. Since they were not conferred by government, government is powerless to take them away. Among them is the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. No federal government, no state or city gov-

ernment, and no business authorized by anyone of them, may place road blocks in the way of such pursuit.

The sit-in movement is a test of the validity of that principle. It is based upon Jefferson's maxim.

We are concerned with the national image. That image acquired new luster from the conduct of college boys and girls, of both races, calm, poised and resolute, who demonstrated that moral power alone, schooled, channeled and disciplined, is the inevitable and ultimate victor over oppression.

The initial reaction to demand for lunch counter service was to close the counters. Mark the same reaction in other fields. Close the golf courses. Close the swimming pools. Close the parks. Close the libraries. Close the schools.

Now, if civilization does not inhere in such public instrumentalities, they are at least its expressions. Snip them off one by one, and, one step at a time, you withdraw from civilization. Finally, at the end of this somber process you have attained complete savagery. Never before in human history have men openly advocated an inversion of the evolutionary process.

Inversion

That is, not for human beings. I understand that a few scientists are cross-breeding horses in an effort to reproduce the dwarfed and stunted eohippus, primal ancestor of the breed of present-day horses. The bunglers who propose to close schools and libraries would make cave men of us all.

Few among us go that far. But those who seek to preserve segregation retard, if they do not reverse, the normal evolution of society into finer forms.

Men grow by experience, by contact, by absorption. Segregation limits the area of contact, the range of experience. Shut out from the lives of white and Negro alike has been the rich and rewarding experience of acquaintance with those who would bring to association and friendship a wealth of new background and social potential. Whites should realize that they too, are victims of the order they have created.

Isolation

Occasionally one reads of a demented parent who has for years kept his child secluded in some attic or basement, shut off from contact or association with other humans. The police find the child, undernourished, stunted, filled with fantasies and delusions, ridden with misconceptions and fears. Such life becomes when the world is shut out.

Southerners of both races, without awareness of it, have undergone an isolation differing only in degree from that of the unfortunate child. We, too, have lived without the main stream of life. The circle of those whom we might have known, who might have enlarged the range of our sympathies and understanding, who might have enriched our lives by imparting into them a new breadth and depth —that circle has been racially constricted. We, too, have lived in a world of myth and fantasy and fear. We devise our own delusions of grandeur and of inferiority.

We begin now to tug at the bonds. We seek escape and exit into a brighter world. When, happily, full release has been achieved, we will laugh at the fears which so long possessed us and begin, at last, to devote our lives to noble purposes and happy ends.

Band Together for Genuine Unity

By Colbert S. Cartwright

Pastor, Pulaski Heights Christian Church, Little Rock, Arkansas

Presented to Fourth Conference on Community Unity

A little over a year ago there came into Little Rock a Quaker lady representing the American Friends Service Committee. She was assigned the unenviable task of seeing what could be done to bring about better race relations in this world-renowned city.

She asked me if I thought anything could be done about our situation. Having experienced disappointment after disappointment in Little Rock's leadership for a number of years, I bluntly told her I didn't think so. I could foresee nothing she might expect to accomplish. But, mustering a flicker of hope, I went on to add that I know you cannot operate on the basis of despair. You must keep hoping that something still can be done. And with this dismal note of encouragement I gladly welcomed her.

We know the rest of the story. Mrs. Thelma Babbitt energetically set out to get acquainted with the community and to search for those persons in Little Rock who saw the real tragedy of our shattered community and who yearned to heal its racial strife.

It was not long before she called together a racially mixed group of about eight persons to discuss with them what they thought might be done to bring wholeness to our fractured city. This little group had no ready answer. In fact we found we really did not know each other, and so it was several meetings before we truly became a group.

The very process of our sharing of our thoughts with one another across racial lines suggested to us something we might do to help our community. Why not sponsor an all-day conference on community unity in which others might have something of the experience of interracial fellowship that we ourselves had experienced? We were sure it was a good idea, if anyone would come. One of the tragedies of our Little Rock crisis lay in the fact that everyone had quickly learned to keep his mouth shut, and we were not sure just where other people stood in regard to the moral rightness of racial desegrega-

tion. Each of us as best we could, began putting down the names of people we thought might be interested. To our surprise we came up with a lengthy list and actually sent out 228 invitations to attend a conference on community unity.

So it was that in February ninety-eight Negro and white youths and adults came together (not without considerable trepidation) to talk about the barriers which separate us from each other. We all gained a new sense of freedom in having a heavy burden of fearful silence lifted from our hearts as we expressed our deepest convictions concerning our city's racial troubles.

We were eager for another conference and in April a larger number of invitations were mailed, and we had 147 persons respond by their presence. Then in June a third conference was held with 111 persons attending. All-in-all we found that some 250 persons had attended at least one of the conferences.

We knew by then that none of us was as alone in our concerns for racial justice as we had thought. There were many others of equal concern and commitment. We also became aware that we all shared in a desire to do something for the unity of our community, even though we were not sure just what form the action should take. In each of our conferences the question arose again and again: What can we do? Much of our discussion time was devoted to searching out answers. Through evaluation sheets which those present filled out, the planning committee was able to accumulate a lengthy list of suggestions.

It became apparent that we have in Little Rock two essential ingredients for resolving our community crisis which a year ago we did not think we had. First, we have a significant number of persons deeply concerned about our divided community. Second, we have some rather definite ideas as to what steps can be taken to bring about a unified community free from the debilitating disease of racial discrimination. But for something significant to happen, a third ingredient is needed. Up to this moment we cannot be sure it is present. It is our purpose to find out. This third ingredient might be called one of several things. In polite terms we may call it "the courage of our convictions." More plainly we may call it "the guts to act the way we believe."

We have numbers; we have definite ideas as to what must be done. The question of the hour is whether we are willing to band together to take significant steps of action to lead our community out of its present ruinous approach to racial relations. This is why we are here. We want to decide whether we are willing or not to work together to break the barriers of racial prejudice and custom which separate us from one another in our community. We are well aware that this decision has a certain price tag for each one of us. Some of us have already at least put a small down-payment in lay-away. We know something of the cost of our convictions. Do we mean business?

There can be no question as to the tragic evil inherent in our community's practices of racial discrimination and segregation. Our religious heritage teaches us to love our neighbors as ourselves. We are to treat every other person as a child of God who is of in-

Together

(Continued)

estimable worth and endowed with certain inalienable rights.

In the sight of God everything that thwarts the development of a wholesome personality in another person is evil and sinful. Yet it is just the nature of racial discrimination to din constantly into the ears of the Negro that he is inferior and that he is of little worth compared to his white neighbors. He is constantly forced to live in a society which treats him as some strange being who is less than human. Somehow because of his race he is shunted off into separate schools; he is told that he is not good enough to eat just anywhere he would like or to visit just any park he would prefer; he is told that he is not good enough to hold down the better-paying jobs. By the practice of racial discrimination we insist that the Negro act as some kind of inferior mistake of God.

We well know what happens when we constantly tell a person that he is no good. As a parent I know what would happen to my son if from his birth I dinned into his ear that he was not as good as other people. I know the tragic results of what would happen if I daily told him not to do this or not to do that because he was "different" and not deemed worthy of the privileges other people have. I would so destroy my son's spirit that in all likelihood the state would take him away from me, denouncing me as a father who is unworthy of parenthood. Yet this is exactly what we white people are doing every day as we continue to condone the practice of racial discrimination. We white people are in a vicious conspiracy to twist and contort the souls of countless children who become the objects of our destruction because they are Negroes. God knows our sins, and let us soberly observe that God is not mocked.

In the fact of this enormous evil in which we all share, there is no doubt that religiously motivated action is required. We must act in the name of God to end this tragic conspiracy against a portion of God's children. We must recognize racial discrimination and segregation as a sin against man and God. We must help our community to see the immorality of our present racial attitudes and actions.

Today, we who live in Little Rock are not facing up to the moral imperatives of our religious faith. We all share in this vicious conspiracy, and yet we are doing little to end this crime. We have chosen to remain safe and silent. In our desire not to offend our white neighbors, we remain an offense to God.

We are all to blame. Yet the enormity of our unrighteousness has become writ large in the practices of those in our community to whom we look for leadership. Those who are in positions of influence in Little Rock are flagrantly violating the ordinary demands of simple justice and human decency.

The Little Rock school board by its written and unwritten policies deliberately seeks to circumvent the demands of justice that racial discrimination be removed from our school system. While piously assuring the courts that they do not discriminate against Negro pupils, the school board members maneuver in every conceivable way to keep these pupils from exercising their God-given

right to nondiscriminatory education. When a few Negro pupils are assigned to formerly all-white schools, these Negroes are confronted with "cold-war" tactics by the school administration in an attempt to let them know they are still deemed inferior. Although such activities as choruses, bands, clubs and sports are an integral part of the educational program of our schools, these Negro pupils are deliberately ruled out from participation.

Although desegregation is here to stay in our schools as the courts have made perfectly clear, the school authorities refuse to adjust to these new conditions. They refuse to help their teachers face the unique problems which arise, and they refuse to permit students to discuss the adjustments which necessarily must be made in this new era in which they find themselves. In short the school authorities continue blindly to act as if by some kind of slick maneuver they could turn the calendar back so that one day Little Rock could resume unmolested the old unrighteous practices of racial discrimination in the schools.

A general policy of isolating the Negro pupils is fostered by the school officials. White pupils are not discouraged from showing hostility to the Negro pupils. The only stricture is that the white pupils must not commit violence to the extent that the school's accreditation might be jeopardized. This is a fine line the school officials walk. It is a distinction which some persons are not subtle enough to grasp. This is a policy of equivocation and duplicity which can erupt at any time into greater tragedy than our city has yet known.

From a religious point of view the members of the school board have become legalistic Pharisees who by the clever twisting of words clothe unrighteous acts with pious profession. Their professions of "good faith" may legally satisfy the courts for a time, but from a moral point of view they have not acted in good faith either with the patrons against whom they plot or with the God who is ever-watching and testing the sincerity of each man's actions.

I must hasten to say that one school board member, Ted Lamb, has consistently refused to follow this path of deceit laid out by the other board members. He has been a lone voice for justice and has paid a heavy price personally to maintain the integrity of his soul. He has been dealt with treacherously by some of Little Rock's so-called leading citizens. I hold Ted Lamb in the greatest respect.

Looking at the broader picture of leadership in our community, we find the same blindness to the moral issues involved in dealing justly with all our citizens. In the face of just demands from our Negro citizens for the end of racial discrimination in public facilities, our leadership with utter disregard for the basic issue answers with quick arrests and stiff punitive sentences. Adamantly these leaders have refused to discuss the question of the moral rightness of those requests. They have refused to even think in terms of what their own religious faith demands that they do in the face of blatant injustice.

We are faced, then, with the fact that our community is torn by strife, and our leadership will do nothing to bring about unity among us. Its only answer to the social revolution in race relations

Together

(Continued)

which is now taking place, is to threaten, intimidate, and procrastinate. Its only answer is to continue practices which will guarantee that strife remains with us for decades to come.

After a year's study of our Little Rock situation, I believe it has become the general consensus of those of us who have been participating in the conferences on community unity that a citizens group of religious leaders be formed which will place the moral issues squarely before the public. A group is needed to seek to counteract the tragic policies of our civic leaders who are leading us into even greater strife in the years ahead. There is need for a permanent group which fearlessly stands against all demagoguery and duplicity — against racists and moderates alike—and seeks a just and equitable solution to our racial problems. To remain silent is to condone practices which are immoral and can only lead to greater tragedies than we have yet witnessed.

The ultimate solution to our problems can be found only as our citizens work together across racial lines for the establishment of just and equitable practices among our people. Getting to know one another across racial lines we can learn how best to ease tensions and build a unified community of which we can be proud.

I know that in taking these steps we will be accused of being trouble-makers. But I ask you, who are the real trouble-makers? Are they not people who flout God's demands for righteousness and justice? Are they not the racists who thrive on racial strife? Are they not the moderates who now wield so much power in our community, preventing even the discussion of a just and equitable solution to our problems?

In this connection I am reminded of a story in the Bible. You will remember that King Ahab had established his realm on unrighteous practices. He even countenanced the exploitation of the poor and the defenseless for his own personal gain. In the midst of his complacency he was confronted by the prophet Elijah who decried his unjust actions. When Ahab saw Elijah, Ahab said to him, "Art thou he that troubleth Israel?" To which the stalwart prophet replied, "I have not troubled Israel; but thou, and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord . . ." (1 Kings 18:17-18) It is the message of the Bible that things are not settled until they are settled equitably. The real trouble-makers are those persons in positions of civic leadership who foster and perpetuate unjust and immoral racial practices. We are the true realists who know that God's will must be done before peace can come to our strife-torn community.

We who are gathered here yearn for the end of racial strife in our community. We want to put an end to the troubles which have embroiled our city.

Is this not the moment for those who love our community to band together to work for its genuine unity? This is the question your planning committee puts to you: Shall we organize for action, or shall we continue by our silence to let our community be further destroyed? This is the hour to decide. The answer rests in your hands.

Highlights from Recent Literature

New South summarizes recently published periodical, pamphlet, and book-length material of interest to its readers. These synopses liberally paraphrase and condense the statements of the authors, although direct quotations are used whenever economy permits.

Weaver, Robert C.: "Class, Race, and Urban Renewal." *Land Economics*, Vol. XXXVI, Number 3, August, 1960, pp. 235 - 251.

". . . In northern and border cities there can be a degree of class and racial mixture compatible with attracting and holding middle-class whites. In the expensive and upper medium-rental apartments and sales houses this presents few problems of planning . . . . It is at the level of medium-cost housing that real problems arise.... Opening the suburbs to non-whites is one of the necessary prices for attracting and holding middle-income whites in the central city . . . . Cessation of widespread dislocation of low-income families . . . is pertinent to the discussion of medium-cost housing (for a reason other than political expediency and equity) . . . . As long as large numbers of low-income families are uprooted by slum clearance they are a potential source for the displacement of middle-income families elsewhere in the community. This is especially true when they are colored and limited to a racially restricted market.

"A final approach, applicable chiefly to conservation areas, is to perfect techniques for stabilizing racially transitional neighborhoods. To be effective they must be an element in a comprehensive program for expanding the supply of housing available to non-whites at all price levels . . . ."

Vander Zanden, James W.: "Turmoil in the South." *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. XXIX, Number 4, Fall, 1960, pp. 445-452.

Less than 30 of the 800 biracial Southern school districts which have been desegregated since 1954 have experienced disturbances of some severity. From the varying experiences Mr. Vander Zanden abstracts 30 tentative propositions concerning turmoil accompanying desegregation, among them:

"The incidence and severity of disturbances attendant upon school desegregation has tended to vary inversely, within limits, with: (a) the degree of unequivocalness and firmness with which the desegregation policy and procedure is communicated to the population; (b) the degree of firmness and resoluteness with which the program is instituted and executed by authorities in the face of resistance; (c) the degree to which authorities make clear their readiness to employ legal sanctions and penalties against lawbreakers.

"Opposition and overt resistance to desegregation tend to be decreased when the alternative is the loss of a desired public facility or the imposition of a direct economic or related burden upon the public.

"A rapidly instituted program of desegregation tends to shorten the period of anxiety and stress, to

Highlights

(Continued)

limit the duration of overt resistance or controversy, and gain general community acceptance in less time than does a long, drawn-out process.

"The incidence and severity of disturbances attendant upon desegregation has not been directly dependent upon the relative or absolute number of Negro children involved in the desegregation situation."

* * *

Anderson, Margaret: "The South Learns Its Hardest Lessons." *New York Times Magazine*, September 11, 1960, p. 27.

From her experience as teacher and director of guidance at desegregated Clinton High School, Margaret Anderson concludes there is increasing evidence that most white students are now looking deeply into the moral and Christian aspects of their situation. "It appears to me that many take pride in their progress in human relations. I have noted particularly that a white student may change his attitude toward Negro students from an antagonistic one to a benevolent one, but seldom does he reverse the process." Negro students "have displayed a tremendous courage which surely could not be overlooked even by those who have had no welcome for them."

Specific observations which Miss Anderson's experiences lead her to believe necessitate consideration ("so that the changes in social culture will be smoother for both races. After a school is desegregated, I do not see how we can pretend the Negro children are not present, the same as other children—with their headaches, heartaches and numerous potentialities."):

"1. After the Negro children enter the white school, they should be placed under the guidance of mature and competent teachers . . . .

2. Many (Negro children with neither the desire nor ability to attend white schools) are being thrust into white schools ill-prepared, academically and psychologically, and some are even unfit, while good Negro schools are still available to them . . . .

3. Our experiences in these four years point to the advantages of desegregation from the lower grades up rather than beginning in high school, at such a formidable age . . . .

4. Testing and placement procedures, if practiced without subterfuge, would be an enormous advantage to the individual Negro student . . . .

5. All of the burden for successful desegregation should not be upon the whites . . . .

6. The Negro must not expect too much, too soon . . . .

7. The deep bonds which actually exist between the Negro and white races of the South . . . are evident in the Negro children of this generation . . . ."

The Southerner As American

Reviewed by Montez Albright

Research Staff Member, Southern Regional Council

THE SOUTHERNER AS AMERICAN, edited by Charles Grier Sellers, Jr. The University of North Carolina Press, pp. 216. $5.00.

Written by nine Southerners, both white and Negro, this book peels off the varnished layers of false myth and nostalgic romanticism from the Southerners' self-portrait and exposes the harsh reality of the value conflict between attitudes and habits and deeply rooted liberalism and Christianity.

John Hope Franklin (As for our history . . .) says, we have "invented and glorified a fictitious historical South, a myth which did not die with the crisis that produced it, for the succeeding experiences of defeat and humiliation made it even more a psychological necessity to Southerners. For a hundred years Southern historians found the dream so warm, the truth so cold, that they were slow to construct for the South an image of itself that was true to the reality of its past or relevant to its changing circumstances."

Thomas P. Govan, in "Americans Below the Potomac," refutes the old claim that there were two divergent and irreconcilable social and economic systems. "The South did not secede because of differences in culture, nor even because of the tariff or the Bank of the United States . . . the one important sectional conflict in the nation's history arose from the fact that Negroes were held as slaves in the southern states until 1865. Its subsequent concern with the maintenance of white supremacy was not an evidence of its difference from other areas of the country, but of its unhappy identity with most men of European origin when they come in contact with large numbers of people of different origin . . . . The South reaccepted membership in the national society with little or no change in basic attitudes and beliefs, because none was required."

Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., in "The Travail of Slavery," says, "No analysis that misses the inner turmoil of the ante-bellum Southerner can do justice to the central tragedy of the southern experience. . . . Slavery simply could not be blended with liberalism and Christianity, while liberalism and Christianity were too deeply rooted in the southern mind to be torn up overnight. . . . Social psychologists observe that such value conflicts—especially when they give rise to the kind of institutional instability revealed by the ambiguities of southern slavery—make a society 'suggestible,' or ready to follow the advocates of irrational and aggressive action. . . .Inflammatory agitation and revolutionary tactics succeeded only because Southerners had finally passed the point of rational self-

Southerner

(Continued)

control."

David Donald describes "The Southerner as a fighting man,": . . . they did not take kindly to military discipline. . . . they exhibited a typical democratic disrespect for authority and their immediate superiors." He concludes that "the Southerner as a fighting man, then, was a product of the paradoxical world that was the ante-bellum South, devoted to the principles of democracy and the practice of aristocracy . . . an admirable fighting man but a poor soldier."

Grady McWhiney, in "Reconstruction: Index of Americanism," says that "the real tragedy . . . was that the national reconstruction program was only insincerely democratic. It gave the Negro nominal political power without giving him economic power, and so condemned him to virtual reenslavement. . . ."

George B. Tindall, in "The Central Theme Revisited," argues that "Economic subordination, disfranchisement, and political proscription involved a return to conditions roughly approximating those before emancipation. But the keystone of the whole new structure may be found in the caste symbolism of racial segregation. Segregation as a general civil institution and as a hallowed social myth is essentially a phenomenon of the twentieth century."

L. D. Reddick in "The Negro as Southerner and American," calls the Negro in the South " a study in attachment and alienation . . . . The conflict between embracing and rejecting the South has set up a war within the persons of Negro Southerners as well as in the social order. Some of them hate the South; others, despite everything, love it . . . It is a great and confusing frustration. Most southern Negroes, apparently, attempt to accommodate themselves to the realities and, as with other problems of life, struggle to improve their situation."

Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., in "An American Politics for the South," discusses the ambiguous character of southern politics and traces the bright thread of impending political change through the course of modern southern history . . . . "Of course the South's politics have differed in important respects from the politics of other regions but, even so, it has always practiced a more American politics than is usually recognized . . . . Once the current racial tension diminishes . . . the promise of southern political traditions can be more nearly realized. A habit of conservatism, strengthened by recent economic developments, should assert itself in a more forthright and constructive fashion. A liberal tradition . . . should make a more meaningful contribution to southern and American politics."

C. Hugh Holman, in "The Southerner as American Writer," says "The South, however defeated it may feel itself in other areas, has triumphantly taken possession of the American literary world . . . . These writers have presented the paradoxes and the dilemmas of southern life and thought in the only way in which they can ultimately be comprehended—in concrete and particularized terms. They have dramatized the contradictions, the ambiguities and intolerable couplings in individual cases and have made of them high art as well as accurate statement.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"Atlanta and Georgia have been very lucky. Other cities and states faced these [desegregation] problems before we will have to. The events in Louisiana are the latest that point out the choice we have is between progress and decency or spite and futility."

From an editorial
in the *Atlanta Constitution*
September 1, 1960

• • •

"Georgians once more have been told in kindly and judicial fashion that if they want public schools they've got to do something to keep them open in the face of the conflict in state and federal laws on school segregation."

From an editorial
in the *Atlanta Journal*
September 14, 1960

• • •

"We . . . endorse the recent statement of business and professional men of New Orleans which calls for an end to demonstrations in the streets of our city and to the vilification and threats directed against persons behaving in lawful manner. We urge all citizens devoted to orderly and democratic government of law to declare their support for this course of action . . ."

319 faculty members
of Tulane University
Quoted in *The Times-Picayune*
December 18, 1960

"Chattanooga has a solid base from which to assert leadership [in the desegregation question]. It has the choice of asserting that leadership—now—or of waiting until trouble threatens or erupts before acting. There is paramount need, first of all, for establishing meaningful communication at all levels. This is the goal toward which the school board has striven courageously for the past five years. But it has had too little support."

From an editorial
in the *Chattanooga Times*

• • •

"What is good for business is good for Atlanta. And we already know that cities without schools and with a name for bad racial relations are hurt in the pocketbook and damaged in their national reputation, not to mention the psychic scars caused by racial strife and suspicion."

From an editorial
in the *Atlanta Journal*
November 29, 1960

• • •

"The destruction of all public education in our state will result in great harm [to all Georgians] regardless of color and to the entire nation as well. I stand wholeheartedly and unqualifiedly in support of a plan which would give freedom of choice to our local communities."

Former U. S. Rep. Irwin Mitchell
Quoted in *Atlanta Constitution*
September 29, 1960

The Changing South in Print!

DEAR TO THE HEARTS of chambers of commerce—especially their innkeepers' sections—is the convention business brought to their cities by all kinds of business and professional groups. Consider the mixed feelings, then, of a Southern chamber of commerce that has to see a big convention go elsewhere because the city's hotels will not accept the Negroes among the delegates.

The magazine *New South* of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, observes that "this is another problem the South needs to face and face quickly if it hopes to continue to attract" groups of bi-racial make-up. *Wilmington Delaware News*, Sept. 24, 1960.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE